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BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

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Should the Senate Ratify the North Atlantic Pact?

Moderator, **GEORGE V. DENNY, Jr.**

Speakers

WILLIAM E. JENNER

JOHN J. SPARKMAN

GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT

CURTIS P. NETTELS

(See also page 12)

COMING

— April 26, 1949 —

**How Can We Find Personal Peace and Security
in Today's World?**

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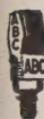
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Town Meeting

BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., MODERATOR



APRIL 19, 1949

VOL. 14, No. 51

Should the Senate Ratify the North Atlantic Pact?

Moderator Denny:

Good evening, neighbors. Your Town Meeting feels very much at home here in Des Moines for this was one of our stops on our first coast-to-coast tour in 1941. This is our fifth origination in this productive and influential American city, so we're happy, indeed, to be here under the auspices of Station KRNT and our local sponsor, the *Des Moines Register and Tribune*.

It was here, in 1945, that we discussed the crucial issue of the inclusion of the veto in the United Nations Charter, with Harold Stassen speaking to us from San Francisco and Senator Styles Bridges from Washington, with two newspapermen—Marquis Childs and Kenneth Crawford—speaking from this platform.

That was the year in which the Allies won a dearly bought victory over the forces of totalitarianism.

That was the year in which they

sought to build a system of collective security through the United Nations which was called the world's greatest hope for peace.

That was the year in which American mothers besieged Congress with the slogan "Bring the Boys Back Home."

It was the year of almost magic demobilization and transformation of our war machine into productive and peacetime pursuits.

The record of these past four years is common knowledge to most of the world. Not finding the security they sought in the United Nations, representatives of twelve of the nations bordering on the North Atlantic—Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Great Britain, and the United States—met in Washington two weeks ago and signed what is known as the North Atlantic Pact for collective defense. However, this Pact cannot become effective unless ratified

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through the constitutional processes of each country.

In the United States, it must be approved by a two-thirds majority of the United States Senate. So, tonight, we've invited two members of that august body and two able students of our foreign policy — one a distinguished commentator and former soldier, and the other a professor of history at Cornell University.

We'll hear first from the Senator from Alabama, well known to Town Meeting listeners for his previous appearances on this program when he was a member of the Military Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives and also since he was elected to the Senate in 1946. Senator Sparkman was unable to be with us here on the platform tonight as he is chairman of the Sub-committee on Housing which began its hearings today in the Senate. However, he's going to speak to us from Washington. Senator John J. Sparkman, Democrat of Alabama, speaking from Washington. (*Applause.*)

Senator Sparkman:

Thank you, Mr. Denny. Two weeks ago yesterday, there was signed in Washington one of the most momentous documents of modern times. Twelve nations, including the United States, bound themselves in a mutual defense nonaggression agreement known as the Atlantic Pact.

Each of the signatories is pledged to come to the assistance

of one another in case of armed aggression against any one of them.

I believe the Senate should ratify the Pact.

I believe so because the Pact would offer more security than we now enjoy. It may not be an absolute assurance of peace — nothing is today — but it is a strengthening step toward peace. This, to me, the primary question one has to decide in opposing or supporting the Pact.

Twice, within a quarter century, this Nation engaged in a life-and-death struggle to preserve democracy as we understand it. These struggles had their origin in Western Europe — the cradle of democracy and the mother of many of the industrial and scientific discoveries from which we have profited so greatly.

Because our ideals and interests are so closely interwoven with the countries of Western Europe, we cannot remain unaffected by what happens there. We will not idly by and permit some world-wide dictator to subjugate the

To make this point clearly understood to all nations is the reason for the Atlantic Treaty.

The First and Second World Wars might well have been avoided had Germany known in advance that the United States would quickly join in an alliance against her.

We now propose to serve a notice that we will not delay another time. The notice

not directed against any specific nation, except as that nation threatens to overrun the Western European countries.

The Atlantic Pact will not supplant the United Nations. Such regional agreements are plainly authorized under Articles 51 and 52 of the United Nations Charter.

Our State Department, through Secretary Acheson, made clear a few days ago that "in every word and every thought the Pact fits within the United Nations."

True, it seems to provide the security to the countries of Western Europe denied them by Soviet use of the veto in the Security Council.

Yet the Pact recognizes the Security Council as having primary responsibility and promises to report all its actions to the Council. Moreover, it proposes to terminate measures when the Security council has taken necessary steps to restore and maintain international peace and security.

Some oppose the Pact on the grounds that it will invite Russian aggression against nonsignatories. This is a necessary calculated risk. The Pact may well have, however, the opposite effect.

The attempts at infiltration to create chaos and to influence government decisions—and to overthrow governments—all over the world is going on at a pretty fast pace. Such efforts will likely be intensified with or without the Atlantic Pact. Pressure on Greece, Turkey, and countries of the Near East was not caused by any pact.

Affiliation with any group—individuals or nations—for mutual welfare carries with it an obligation to give strength to the association formed. Yet the declaration of war is left with the Congress as required under the Constitution. The United States is committed to take such action, including the use of armed force, as it may think necessary to meet armed attacks endangering its national security.

Declaration of war may be necessary, but it is not automatic. It is entirely possible that action short of war would suffice, as in the case of the Panay incident with Japan.

Nations striving to regain their economic strength are tremendously handicapped if, at the same time, they have to worry about military insecurity. The Pact should help to remove the fear of the latter and thus hasten the progress of the former.

The achievement of peace is a struggle sometimes as difficult as winning a war. It is a struggle that demands expenditure of time and money. We may have to renew some kind of lend-lease terms on military aid to supplement the European Recovery Program of economic assistance. I do not think we can, at the immediate time, cut one to add to the other.

Weighed against the cost of past wars, the expense of present and proposed international programs to avoid another world-wide conflict is cheap insurance.

Because I believe that the Atlantic Pact is insurance for peace, I am supporting it. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Senator Sparkman. Our next speaker is a native of Indiana, and is the first veteran of World War II to be elected to the United States Senate. He had previously had an extensive career in the Indiana State Senate where he served for a period of eight years. Senator Jenner is a member of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration as well as the Committee on the Judiciary. Senator Jenner, we are happy to welcome you to your first appearance on Town Meeting. Senator William E. Jenner, Republican of Indiana. (*Applause.*)

Senator Jenner:

Senator Sparkman emphasizes that this Pact is insurance for peace, but I am afraid he does not realize that we might end up with a lot of insurance premiums that are so wealth-consuming that they will bankrupt America. Of course we all want peace, but the greatest hope for peace in the world today lies in a militarily strong and solvent America. Besides, I would like for Senator Sparkman and Major Eliot to tell the people of America when an armament race ever resulted in peace.

There are many good reasons why I and every American should oppose ratification of the North Atlantic Pact. Perhaps the biggest single reason, however, can be

summed up in three little words. It isn't necessary. It isn't necessary for peace, it isn't necessary in case of war. It will make us no new friends and it could unduly alarm our potential enemy.

Like so many New Deal measures that have been rammed down the collective throats of our people, it is a radical departure from our traditional governmental practices and procedures.

By our membership in the Alliance we would be committed not only to a military program that would entangle us in the century-old hatreds of Europe, but we would be obligated to a program of economic aid to the other member nations for two long decades to come.

The Pact commits us, in effect, to a ground war in Europe in case of attack against any one of the member nations, regardless of the cause of the war. This, in face of the fact that all the military experts now agree, that except for mopping-up operations, ground forces are as obsolete as the catapult.

The vital battles of the next war will be in the air, by supersonic airplanes, guided missiles, atomic bombs, and bacteriology. Another and one of the principal reasons why I oppose the ratification of the Pact, is the huge additional cost it will saddle upon our people.

Why, Senator Sparkman, you and Major Eliot know the military phase alone of this help will run more than 25 billions of dollars

the next few years, while it is impossible to estimate accurately the added economic cost of the program. This is in the face of the stark fact that we have spent 23 billion dollars in Europe since V-J Day.

The Pact is illegal, although that would not stop many Senators from supporting it. Section 8 of the Constitution of the United States reads, "The Congress shall have the power to declare war," and so forth.

But, Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty provides: "The parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all; and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them . . . will assist the party or parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area."

In other words, my friends, any attack from any source on any nation in the Atlantic Pact means that you and I are at war automatically. There is no regard even for the formality of a declaration of war by Congress—by law, the only agency which may declare war in our Nation.

This is a dangerous and unnecessary step for us to take. We could accomplish the same purposes merely by extending the Monroe

Doctrine to the countries that have indicated they desire to join with us in fighting for freedom, if and when the need arises.

That would be legal. That would be in line with our tradition. And that would be simple. But would a New Dealer ever think of that?

The United States, ever since the advent of the New Deal in 1933, step by step has abandoned the policies followed by Washington, Hamilton, Jay, Adams, Monroe—men who had studied the histories of governments of years long gone, and had woven the fabric of our free government.

The New Deal, in effect, has torn into the fabric of that free government again and again. This is another tear that would unravel the freedoms our fathers have worked to weave for us.

George Washington, greatest of our mighty dead, warned us as follows, "Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens), the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of a republican government."

This was a good principle of government to follow then, and it is a good principle to follow now. Sure, circumstances change, times change, but principles endure forever. (Applause.)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Senator Jenner.

Now we're going to hear from another familiar voice, that of Major George Fielding Eliot, syndicated columnist, author and commentator, whose latest book, *If Russia Strikes*, was published yesterday. He sides tonight with Senator Sparkman on this discussion, but for some additional reasons, which he will now give us. Major Eliot, welcome back to Town Meeting. (Applause.)

Major Eliot:

I believe, with Senator Sparkman, that the Senate should ratify the Atlantic Pact. I hope there will not be a single dissenting vote, but it looks as if there'll be one anyway. (*Laughter.*) Senator Jenner says that the Pact will bankrupt us. He apparently bases this view on the idea that it will cost us, as he says, 25 billion dollars for military outlay during the next twenty years.

I don't know where the Senator gets any such figure as that. It isn't justified by any present plan.

Congress will be asked this year for about one billion or perhaps one and a quarter billion, to make a modest beginning in providing some of the Western European nations with weapons and tactical aircraft.

But this program, as is well recognized by all concerned, is merely a stopgap. It's a temporary carry-over until these war-torn states can rebuild enough of their own industrial production to provide themselves with weapons. The

French, for example, expect to have 1952 to be producing most of their own arms.

Meanwhile, as Senator Jenner has said, we have invested a large amount of money in the recovery and rehabilitation of Western Europe. Now we propose to protect that investment. The Senator says it isn't necessary to do that.

I disagree. I think the road to bankruptcy, both financial and moral, lies in *not* protecting that investment.

As for the policies and principles of George Washington, which the Senator makes such a miring allusions, let's judge Washington, not only by his words, but also by his deeds. It's true that he warned us against foreign alliances, but it's also true that when he was up against a tough situation, he sought such an alliance with France. (Applause.) He sought it and he made use of it, and he didn't rest until he not only had French troops and ships over here to help us, but had been given command himself so that he could use them effectively.

So let's think not only of what Washington said, but also what he did in time of trouble, and we have plenty of troubles today.

Today, the free peoples of the Atlantic community are troubled by mounting anxieties as to their security. The hopes which rose so high among them when the Charter of the United Nations was signed and ratified, less than a

short years ago, have been subject to a series of savage disappointments.

The safety which they had sought in world-wide agreement has proved to be a cruel illusion. The fear that the world is drifting toward another war is present today in every mind, in every heart. Look into your own minds and hearts and see if you don't find it there.

The Atlantic Pact represents a natural tendency of free men and women to draw together in time of peril, to seek strength in safety, in unity. It is founded on the most primeval of all human instincts, the deep-rooted urge of self-preservation. It is supported not only by that instinct, but by the intelligence of those who have learned the bitter lessons that the past 35 years have taught us.

The free peoples of the Atlantic community have not forgotten how totalitarian Germany overcame and enslaved so many nations one by one, while all the rest of us stood by, deplored each new assault, but either unwilling to join in checking the tyrant's progress, or, in later days, helpless to prevent it because we had not united in time.

The melancholy procession of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Yugoslavia, and Greece, passing one by one beneath the Nazi yoke, will not soon or easily be banished from our minds.

Now we see the start of a new procession of misery, headed by Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, with frontiers being redrawn at the Kremlin's will, and with constant Soviet pressure, not only on the borders of other states, but by the encouragement and subsidizing of treason in our very midst.

Perhaps this does not alarm Senator Jenner, but it alarms a lot of us. We have tried to work with the Soviet Union within the framework of the United Nations, to build a world-wide edifice of peace.

We have tried to gain the consent of the Kremlin to a plan for international control of our most powerful weapon.

We have tried to help our neighbors along the path toward economic recovery, and found Soviet obstruction at every step of the way.

For four years, we have tried to make good the solemn pledges which were in our hearts when we affixed our signature beside the signature of the Soviet Union on the Charter of the United Nations.

We have been reluctant to admit failure, and we do not admit it yet. But we and those who wish to live with us in that freedom which is our heritage and theirs can no longer ignore the cruel facts which lie so plainly before us.

We must look to our own safety. We must unite in order to be strong, and we must and do say

plainly for all to hear that we will not stand idly by and see the liberties of one more free people destroyed by totalitarian attack.

This is the purpose and the meaning of the North Atlantic Pact. This is the bitter lesson of experience. We have paid too high a price for that lesson to ignore it now. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

• Thank you, Major Eliot. We found out about the views of our next speaker through an extremely effective letter on tonight's subject which he wrote to the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Chicago Tribune*. Dr. Curtis P. Nettels is a distinguished authority in the field of American history, a graduate of the University of Kansas, who received his doctor's degree from the University of Wisconsin. He's been a professor of American history at Cornell since 1944, and is the author of *The Roots of American Civilization*, and other books. We are happy to have you with us, Dr. Curtis P. Nettels of Ithaca, New York. Dr. Nettels. (*Applause.*)

Dr. Nettels:

It is my very strong conviction that the Senate should reject the Atlantic Pact. My opposition arises from a fact that Major Eliot and Senator Sparkman have ignored. In the negotiations leading to the Pact, Britain and France refused to cancel their treaties with Russia, which bind them not to enter into any alliance or coalition

against Russia. The British-Russian Treaty of 1942, effective until 1962, and the French-Russian Treaty of 1944, effective until 1964, each contains the following clause: "Each high contracting party undertakes not to conclude any alliance and not to take part in any coalition directed against the other high contracting party."

Article 8 of the Atlantic Pact states, "Each party of the Pact declares that none of the international engagements now in force between it and any third state in conflict with the provisions of this treaty."

Thus it appears that a new Pact directed against Russia endorses the treaties of two parties to the Paris treaties which bind them not to enter into a Pact against Russia.

To make this contradiction easier for us to swallow, it is now said that the Pact is not directed against Russia, but only against aggression in the abstract. That statement is not convincing even plausible.

In the first place, both the State Department and the President have said that the Pact is directed against Russia.

Secondly, the Pact calls upon us to spend billions for arming our member states. Most important, we are asked to abandon a foreign policy which the Nation has pursued during the past 149 years—the policy of abstaining from peacetime military alliances. Surely something more than an disembodied ghost of a phantom

aggressor is needed to justify all this.

The Pact does not offer us any binding commitments from Britain and France. If an attack on American forces should occur anywhere in the world, the governments of Britain and France would each have before it two treaties. One—the Atlantic Pact—would authorize each government to judge for itself whether an attack on the United States had taken place. The other—a treaty with Russia—would bind Britain or France not to enter into any alliance or coalition against Russia.

These British-French pledges to abstain from an alliance or coalition against Russia would bear the stamp of approval of the United States through our ratification of the Pact.

Senator Sparkman, who is to say who will be in charge of the governments of Britain and France, a year after the ratification of the Pact?

The Pact endorses treaties which proclaim Russia to be a virtuous state. If two partners, Britain and Russia, pledge that each will not act with his neighbors against the other, then each affirms that his partner is a virtuous person who will not be guilty of any wrong which might require joint action against him.

By sanctifying anew two treaties which proclaim that Russia is a virtuous state, the Pact will endorse all acts of Russia between

1942 and the date of the ratification of the Pact.

The British-Russian-French alliances are in effect directed against the United States. They make it impossible for us to secure an effective ally against Russia.

The Pact calls upon us to consecrate alliances that are directed against ourselves. We will not act as an independent nation if we consecrate a presumed enemy, if we sanctify two treaties that are directed against ourselves, if we arm allies of Russia that are pledged not to act with us against Russia, if we approve two treaties which bind two major powers to abstain from giving us effective aid in a major war.

The Pact makes sense only on the notion that it is the duty of the United States to arm, to subsidize, to defend, and to fight for Britain, when Britain is an ally of Russia and is pledged until 1962 not to assist us in a Russian war.

The Pact calls upon us to give everything and to get nothing in return. The main issue is not war or peace, Communism or anti-Communism; it is a simple matter of the integrity of the nations.

The only honorable course now open to us is to reject the Pact. If we adopt it, we may inflict a mortal blow upon the true interests and even the independence of the United States. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Professor Nettels.

Now the issue seems to be pretty well drawn between these two sides. It is certainly a "yes" and "no" question. Senator Sparkman, we haven't heard from you for a while.

Senator Sparkman: Yes, Mr. Denny, I want to ask my friend, Bill Jenner, something about what he said. I was rather surprised to hear him say that his real reason

for being against this could be summed up in three simple words—"It isn't necessary."

I have before me the *Congressional Record* of April 7, 1949, and on page 4107 I quote from Senator Jenner as follows: "The Marshall Plan itself may be fine. The North Atlantic Pact may be fine. I think all of these things may be necessary."

THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

WILLIAM EZRA JENNER—A Republican from Indiana, Senator Jenner is a member of the Senate Rules and Administration Committee. Born in Marengo, Indiana, in 1908, he has an A.B. and an LL.B. from Indiana University. Admitted to the Indiana bar in 1932, he practiced in Paoli and Shoals, Indiana, until 1942, and in Bedford since 1944.

From 1934 until 1942, Senator Jenner was a State Senator serving as minority leader in 1937, 1938, and 1939, and as majority leader in 1941. From 1942 until 1944, Senator Jenner was in the U. S. Army Air Forces. In 1944, he was elected to fill the unexpired term of Frederick Van Nuys in the U. S. Senate. He was also elected in 1946, and reelected for the present term. He has been State Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of Indiana.

GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT—A columnist for the *New York Post—Home News*, Mr. Eliot is author of the book, *If Russia Strikes*, which has just been published. He is one of the best known among military analysts either on the air or in the press. Major Eliot was born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1894. After his graduation from Melbourne University in Australia, he served with the Australian Imperial Force from 1914 to 1918. From 1922 until 1930 he served as a captain and later as a major in the Military Intelligence Reserve of the United States Army. After five years as an accountant in Kansas City, Missouri, Major Eliot began writing for fiction magazines in 1926. Since 1928 he has written especially on military and international affairs.

Major Eliot's books include *If War Comes*, *The Ramparts We Watch*, *Bombs Bursting in Air*, *Hour of Triumph*, and *Hate, Hope, and High Explosives*.

JOHN J. SPARKMAN—John J. Sparkman, Democrat, from Huntsville, Alabama, has been a member of the United States Congress since 1937. He is a member of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. From the University of Alabama, he received A.B., LL.B., and A.M. degrees. From 1923 to 1925, he served as Y. M. C. A. secretary for the university. In 1925, he was admitted to the bar and began his practice in Huntsville where he was a member of the firm of Taylor, Richardson, and Sparkman until 1937, when he retired in order to give full time to his congressional duties. During World War I, Mr. Sparkman was a member of the Students Army Training Corps and a lieutenant colonel in the Organized Reserves.

CURTIS PUTNAM NETTLES—Dr. Curtis Nettles, professor of American history at Cornell University since 1944, was formerly chairman of the department of American history at the University of Wisconsin. Born in Topeka, Kansas, in 1898, he has an A.B. degree from the University of Kansas and his A.M. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Wisconsin.

Joining the history faculty at Wisconsin in 1921 as assistant instructor, he advanced to chairman of the department in 1939. In 1937-38, he was also a lecturer at Harvard, and in 1938, at Columbia. In 1928, he studied in London as a Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellow. In 1933, he was awarded a research grant by the Social Service Research Council.

Dr. Nettles is the author of *The Money Supply of the American Colonies* and *The Roots of American Civilization*. He is also a member of the editorial board of the *Journal of Economic History* and the *American Historical Review*.

And quoting further: "The Pact itself, standing by itself, might be all right. I am personally inclined to think that it is."

I would like to ask my friend, Bill Jenner, when he changed his mind. (*Laughter.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Senator Sparkman. Now, Senator Jenner.

Senator Jenner: Well I haven't changed my mind—you've only read parts of the *Congressional Record*. The story is simply this: It may be necessary, Senator Sparkman, to have a Marshall Plan, a North Atlantic Pact, a Middle East Pact, a Pacific Pact—it may be fine, it may be good to have all those things, but Senator Sparkman, as I stated in that *Record*, the people of this Nation are now paying, in local taxes for state and city government, 15 billion dollars a year. They are paying 44 billion dollars a year for the cost of Federal Government.

Now comes the North Atlantic Pact. Oh, yes—Major Eliot, it only starts with \$1,800,000,000; but the War Department tells us it costs \$400,000,000 to maintain a division of men. And how many divisions is it going to take to maintain the peace in Europe? Then comes the Middle East Pact, etc.

So, Senator Sparkman, if you will read on from that *Congressional Record*, I ask this simple question: "Can six per cent of the world's population—which this country is—keep, feed, arm, and clothe the other 94 per cent of the world, and is there a bottom to this

well of the American taxpayer paying all the bills?" (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Senator. Senator Sparkman, Major Eliot is right here now; he wants to chip in at this point.

Major Eliot: Well, it seems to me, again, that the Senator is being very free with his figures. I read the *Congressional Record*, too, and at one point of the course of this discussion to which Senator Sparkman refers, Senator Jenner said that we were going to arm 40 divisions, then he said 60 divisions, then he said 80 divisions—as a matter of fact there is no such plan at all contemplated or anything else, as Senator Lodge of Massachusetts pointed out to him on the floor.

The actual number of divisions that we're thinking about working on right now is something like 9 to 12, and they will only be given a part of their equipment. They have quite a good deal of it over there now, but there are certain items that they are short of.

It isn't anything like the Senator says, and no such program is contemplated as Senator Lodge already pointed out.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Major. Senator Jenner has a comment here.

Senator Jenner: Well now, Major Eliot, maybe you didn't hear General Bradley make his speech the other day. He said we cannot afford to let Europe be overrun, and then come back and fight a war to liberate them. Which means this:

Somebody is going to have to stand guard on the Rhine against Russia. That's what this Pact is against—Russia.

Now ladies and gentlemen, in the last war, we only had 89 divisions of men in both fronts. Major Eliot, there were only 63 divisions of men on the European front. England only had 12 divisions, France had 11, and Belgium had 5.

Now Hitler tried to defeat Joe Stalin, and he had 220 divisions of men pitted against Russia, and he couldn't do it. So who is going to furnish the divisions, and can a total of 91 divisions—which is all the allies had against Hitler in the last war—stand up against 500 divisions of Communist Russia? (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Senator Jenner. That seems to call for a military analyst. Major Eliot?

Major Eliot: Yes, it certainly does call for a military analyst because what we've been listening to so far is hardly military analysis. (*Laughter.*) In the first place, the Russians may have 500 divisions, which they can mobilize in about two years. What is necessary now is not to defeat Russia by invading her, which is what Hitler tried to do. What is necessary to do is to win some delay on the River Rhine—which is a fairly formidable military obstacle—against a force of about 50 Russian divisions, which is about what the Russians could put on the Rhine in any surprise attack, and supply them there.

Senator, Russian soldiers have to eat, Russian soldiers have to be supplied with ammunition, and Russian trucks have to have gasoline just the same as trucks of any other army.

What we're playing for now is sufficient force to produce a delay on the Rhine until help can come from elsewhere. The problem is not of the dimensions which the Senator supposes.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Dr. Nettels has a comment here now.

Dr. Nettels: Well, this seems to have become quite a warlike discussion in view of the fact that Senator Sparkman assured us that this is a peace plan, a peace program. It seems to me that the comparisons of the present and 1939 to 1941 are somewhat amiss. At that time, there was a war going on in Europe. Britain was soon fighting alone against the Axis powers.

Now the only serious war is in China, but there is no proposal that we do anything about that. Over in Europe there is no war going on. Britain and France are at peace. Not only that, but Britain and France are the allies of Russia. And not only that, but Britain and France are bound not to enter into an alliance against Russia. They are bound and pledged not to assist us in a major war.

So I submit that the situation today is entirely different from what it was in 1940 and 1941.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. I think we ought to let Senator Sparkman in at this point.

Senator Sparkman: Mr. Denny, I would just like to ask Dr. Nettels if he was in favor of the Marshall Plan, and if he doesn't think that the North Atlantic Pact really supplements the Marshall Plan?

Dr. Nettels: Well, I think that the effect of the Pact may be to perpetuate the Marshall Plan for 20 years—it may commit us to that for 20 years. I thought the Marshall Plan was going to do all these wonderful things. I thought it was going to bring about recovery and make everybody strong over there. If it goes on through 1952 and they do get strong, what do we have? We have those British-French-Russian alliances which bind Britain and France not to help us in a major war.

Major Eliot: I'd like to address myself to Dr. Nettel's point about these alliances. I took the precaution of inquiring of the British and French Embassies on this point and I got some very revealing information. The French, with what seems to me to be irrefutable logic, point out that it should be noted that the only circumstance in which France might be involved in an act of hostility against the Soviet Union, under the terms of the North Atlantic Pact, is that of an act of armed aggression on the part of the U. S. S. R.

In this case, the U. S. S. R. would be violating Article II of the Charter of the United Nations, and would, therefore, be no longer entitled to invoke her treaty with France, first, because she would

be an aggressor, and, second, because she would be violating the Charter whose obligations take precedence over all other international undertakings. So that if they would be confronted by two treaties as Professor Nettels points out, the one treaty—the treaty of alliance, which he is referring to—would be ruled out because Russia would be committing an act of aggression.

If the Russians intend to commit an act of aggression, they have a right, of course, to say that this Pact is directed against them. Specifically, all the nations taking part have said that it is not directed against any power, except one who commits an armed attack against any of the members.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Senator Jenner?

Senator Jenner: Of course, Major Eliot, you got your information from the source you say—from the French people, I believe—and naturally they're going to tell a pretty good story, because you see the American people are carrying this tax load, and, after all is said and done, let's assume that the Pact is in existence. What happens if legally France has an election and goes Communistic? There's no escape clause in the Pact. So all of our equipment that we have sent over there is now in the hands of Communists.

Furthermore, what about our soldiers in Germany tonight? Suppose Russia attacks them. Germany is not in the Pact. So what

are we going to do—prepare the table for Stalin?

Why, you talk about "a delaying action," Major Eliot. In the last war, it only took 39 days for Hitler to overrun all the Low Countries and France, and Britain lost her army and all her equipment at Dunkirk.

Naturally you're going to have to have men over there. Why don't you come out and tell the American mothers that Hitler lost two million boys on his offense against Stalin and three million, in addition to the two million killed, were crippled and wounded.

Are we ready to pay that price? I ask you. (*Applause.*)

Major Eliot: Senator, if you want to talk about offensive against Stalin, let me point out to you that you have said something that's very true. If we take the offensive against Stalin, it will not be by pouring American armies into Russia. We have other and better weapons to take the offensive with.

In the meanwhile, what we're trying to do is to give our friends in Western Europe a little military reassurance by giving them weapons for their own ground troops to protect their frontiers for a limited period of time. This is very different from sending American troops into Russia. We've got something else that's made in America to send into Russia. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Major. Now, we've gone way over our time in this part of the program.

I'm sure our listeners will be interested in the following message

Announcer: You are listening to the 556th broadcast of America's Town Meeting of the Air, coming to you from the KRNT Theatre at Des Moines, Iowa.

You may obtain a complete transcript of tonight's program by writing for the Town Meeting Bulletin, enclosing ten cents to cover cost of printing and mailing. The address is Town Hall, Box 56, New York 46, N. Y. Please do not send stamps, and allow two weeks for delivery.

In a few moments, this audience of Middle Western Americans will begin questioning our speaker. Their questions will be representative of the kind of questions you would ask if you were in this audience. But considering the kind of world we are living in, wouldn't you like to hear the kind of questions the people would ask if this program were being presented in London, Paris, Berlin, Rome, Tel Aviv, New Delhi, Manila, or Tokyo?

Remember, it means a great deal to us what these people are thinking about their own security and about us. Democracy has never before faced such a challenge as faces today.

Your Town Meeting is going around the world this summer to help you understand the situation more clearly, so that you may use your influence more wisely to help this Nation decide what is best to do.

We need your dollars for democracy so that we may go in your name. If you have not already done so, send your contribution to

Town Hall, Box 56, New York 46, New York.

Now for our question period we return you to Mr. Denny.

QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Mr. Denny: We have an audience of over 3,000 people from Des Moines and the surrounding area. They are eager to ask questions of the speakers. Here is a question right down here on the third row.

Man: My question is for Senator Sparkman. Does not the North Atlantic Pact actually lessen the danger of war for the United States and thereby reduce the defense budget necessary for our safety?

Senator Sparkman: I think the questioner is exactly right. Now I want to make this cautious statement. That doesn't necessarily mean that it will reduce the amount of our expenditures for military purposes immediately, but, in the long run, it certainly will effectuate a considerable saving for us.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman on the aisle here.

Man: I'd like to address my question to Senator William Jenner. Does Article V of the Atlantic Pact definitely state that we must declare war upon aggressors who attack other members of the Pact?

Senator Jenner: Article V more or less definitely states that. It says we must go forthwith, individually and collectively, with the use of

armed force not only to fight but then, after we fight and win, we must maintain them for 20 years.

Senator Sparkman: May I come in there?

Mr. Denny: Yes, Senator.

Senator Sparkman: I want to say that Article V of the Atlantic Pact doesn't require us to go to war. We do promise to go to the help of the nation that is attacked, to use whatever force we deem necessary, but there is no more necessity of armed force in that than there is in Senator Jenner's supposed Monroe Doctrine at the Rhine River nor in the Security Council provision of the United Nations Charter.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Senator Sparkman. Now the young lady in the balcony, please.

Lady: My question is directed to Dr. Nettels. Although many people realize that military pacts alone won't bring peace, will not America rely too much upon it without continually considering other alternatives?

Dr. Nettels: Well, I don't know that I can answer that question. I do think, however, that, in the past, military alliances have never kept the peace. They have almost invariably ended in a war. I'm not

at all convinced that a grand military alliance is any assurance of peace, and certainly it's not any cheap assurance. We are spending about 23 billion dollars on the cold war now. Well, if that goes on for 10 years it will be nearly 250 billion dollars, which doesn't seem to me very cheap insurance.

Mr. Denny: I thank you. The lady over on the aisle.

Lady: My question is for Major Eliot. Since the Pact is an expensive interim peace only, is it not necessary that we use this interim to work toward permanent peace under a world government of law and order?

Major Eliot: I certainly think we must use any interim of peace that we gain by this Pact or by any other means to work toward the improvement of world-wide coöperation for peace.

If we can establish, by means of this Pact, a quiet period in which there will be less strain and in which men's minds will be less tormented by immediate fears and immediate anxiety, that certainly will make for peace. It will make for the improvement of the structure of peace, which isn't going to be completed quickly or easily.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now the lady under the balcony, please.

Lady: My question is for Senator Sparkman. What assurance do we have that France and England will not sell the arms, that we are pouring our money into, to Russia, as England has already done?

Mr. Denny: Well, that's a lead-

ing question. All right, Senator.

Senator Sparkman: Well, I was just going to say that I don't accept that part of your statement that England has already done it, but, be that as it may, we certainly have the integrity of the two nations in their signing of the Pact. I think we have to rely on that.

Senator Jenner: May I cut in there, Mr. Denny? Not only is the lady right, but England and the European nations, now under the Marshall Plan, have 88 trade treaties with Russia, and England has been building up Russia's war potential by selling her jet engines. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Major Eliot?

Major Eliot: One of the purposes of the Marshall Plan, as the Senator should know, was to start trade moving between the East and the West in Europe again in its normal channels, and that was one of the reasons why the Russians opposed it and refused to enter into the Marshall Plan originally. They were afraid that that trade would draw their satellites away from them and, believe me, it would if the satellites had a word to say about it.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now the young lady in the balcony.

Lady: My question is directed to Senator Jenner. If there were no North Atlantic Pact, what would you suggest if one of the allied countries was attacked by an aggressor nation or any country for that matter?

Senator Jenner: Well, twice in the last 35 years the American people have gone to war to help their allies and friends to preserve liberty without a pact. Therefore, I say that it isn't necessary. In the meantime, I would try to give some consideration to the United Nations and, whenever our interests are at stake, we could follow the traditional policy, as I suggested, of the Monroe Doctrine.

If we determine our security is on the Rhine, let's say so to the world as we have done in the Western Hemisphere for 120 some odd years under the Monroe Doctrine.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Major Eliot?

Major Eliot: Yes, but let's not make any preparations for what we're going to do about it so we'll go in all unready like we did before, Senator, huh?

Mr. Denny: The gentleman over on the other aisle. Oh, Senator Jenner, yes?

Senator Jenner: I think that Major Eliot begs the question. I said that we must maintain a strong military and economic Nation. I mean by that that we have the atomic bomb, and we pray God that we're the only one that has it. I say that we have the longest range intercontinental bombers. I say that we should build up an air defense second to none, backed up by an adequate Army and Navy, and then tell the world where our security is affected, and then bring on action if anybody dares tread upon our security. (*Applause.*)

Major Eliot: And while we've got these bombers, let's be sure we don't have any overseas bases so they'll have to fly three times as far and do their work three times as hard as they would if we had overseas bases that could be protected with some reasonable expenditure and foresight now! (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now, Senator Jenner, and then Senator Sparkman.

Senator Jenner: Major Eliot, are you assuming that our friends in Europe, whom we have bailed out twice in the last 35 years, won't be kind enough to let us have bases over there? (*Laughter.*)

Major Eliot: Certainly, they'll be kind enough to let us have bases—

Senator Sparkman: Well, Mr. Denny, I was about to say the same thing—that under Senator Jenner's proposal we would simply be carrying on a one-sided war without the allies that we so badly need in those western powers.

Mr. Denny: All right, now, Major Eliot.

Major Eliot: That's just the point I want to make. If you're going to have allies, then the whole history of coalition warfare tells you you had better make some preparation and plans beforehand. That's one purpose of the Pact and that's what Senator Jenner doesn't seem to like.

Mr. Denny: All right, thank you. The gentleman right here on the aisle.

Man: My question is addressed to Senator Sparkman. Will we not have to consider ideological conversion of a nation an act of aggression and reason to go to war?

Senator Sparkman: Well, that raises a great many complications. I think certainly we would have to take into consideration the change of government or internal attack, if you refer to it as such. But at the same time it's not for us to tell any nation the form of government that it shall have.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now a question in the back of the hall.

Man: I would like to address my question to Dr. Curtis Nettels. If the North Atlantic Pact is an alliance only in a moral sense, how can it greatly improve the present world situation?

Dr. Nettels: I don't see how it can. It seems to me it has a double nature. It is said that it is not directed against Russia — that is the official interpretation. That has to be said so that it will not clash with the British-Russian-French Alliance, as it can't be directed against Russia or it would conflict with those.

In fact, it is directed against Russia. The result of it will be, then, to inflame our relations with Russia, but not gain for us any secure or certain allies.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The lady on the aisle. Quickly, please.

Lady: My question is directed to Major Eliot. What is the difference between spending money for

ordinary defense measures and for the Atlantic Pact?

Major Eliot: When you spend money for the Atlantic Pact you visualize the possibility that wars may originate in places where you have allies whom you want to support. It's just a question of where you put your money and what kind of a war you think, at your best guess, you may have to fight.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Major Eliot. Now while our speakers prepare their summaries of tonight's discussion, here's a message of interest to you.

Announcer: While our speakers prepare their summaries, let me answer a few more of your questions about your Town Meeting Round the World.

Q: Have you received an answer to your cable to Premier Stalin about originating a Town Meeting in Moscow?

A: Not yet. As soon as we receive any word, we will announce it on this program.

Q: Do you expect to originate the program in any countries of eastern Europe?

A: On March 18, we wrote to the Ambassadors of Poland, Yugoslavia, and the U. S. S. R. about the possibility of originating Town Meetings in their countries. Both the Polish and Yugoslav Embassies have expressed interest in the project and have taken up the matter with their respective governments in Warsaw and Belgrade. But so far we have received no definite replies.

Q: When you ask us to "send Dollars for Democracy," do you mean for us to limit our contributions to one dollar?

A: No, indeed! But we do want to have the widest possible representation. Several listeners have sent in contributions in excess of \$100. We will make the trip as economically as possible, but many large contributions are needed to finance this project adequately.

Now for the summaries of tonight's discussion, Mr. Denny.

Mr. Denny: And here is Dr. Nettels with the first summary.

Dr. Nettels: Military alliances have not preserved peace; usually they have ended in war. But apart from this, the Atlantic Pact should be rejected because it is not a valid alliance. If the Senate ratifies, it will endorse the British-Russian-French Alliances. It will tell Britain and France that we approve of their pledges not to help us if we get into a major war. We will be asked to arm and to subsidize for 20 years two allies of Russia. Ratification would be a negation of our national interests. The Pact is a death warrant of the independence of the United States.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Professor Nettels. And now, Major George Fielding Eliot.

Major Eliot: The North Atlantic Pact ratifies the lessons of experience. We recall how most of Hitler's victims, transfixed by fear of angering the tyrant, refused up to the very last moment to join in any arrangement for the common

defense. We recall the constant insistence of Nazi propaganda to the effect that those who talked of such arrangements were warmongers and the assurances that Germany wanted only peace, peace, peace.

Now we hear the same thing again from the Soviet radio, and we have some reason to be distressed. Our experience has taught us that there is no safety in weakness, nor in the promises of totalitarian governments.

Safety is for the strong, and strength to a people nurtured in democracy is synonymous with unity. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Major Eliot. Now, Senator Jenner.

Senator Jenner: So I say, "Let's keep America strong." Let's not bleed her white. Now, my friends, let us assume there is every valid reason for the United States to sign the North Atlantic Pact, the Middle East Pact, to ship food, arms, men, machinery, and dollars, all over the face of the earth in an effort to halt the march of communism. Yet, the question remains: Can America afford it?

Only the power of the United States will prevent war. Moscow will keep the peace only as long as we ourselves are strong enough to stay her greed. Let's not bankrupt America, the last best hope for peace on this earth. Our first consideration must be a solvent United States.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Senator Jenner. A final summary from

Senator Sparkman in Washington.

Senator Sparkman: Twice, in less than a quarter of a century, we were drawn into a great world war originating in Europe, when there was no pact. We know that should another war come, we would be in it. We do not want another war. We want lasting peace. For this purpose, we have taken a leading part in the United Nations; have helped reestablish world trade. We have given help to many nations. We have put into effect the Marshall Plan to help the countries of western Europe to rebuild themselves economically and politically.

Now we're planning to go into the Atlantic Pact in order to re-establish in those nations a feeling of security. We shall hope for the day when the United Nations and the Security Council can give assurance of lasting peace. In the meantime, we are determined to stand together, guaranteeing to each other help against aggression.

(Applause.)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Senator Sparkman, Senator Jenner, Major Eliot, and Dr. Nettels for your forthright discussion of this highly important question.

Now, it's up to you, the American people, and the Senate of the United States. I want to extend my warm personal thanks and those of my associates to Station KRNT and to our local sponsor, the *Des Moines Register and Tribune*, for their admirable and efficient co-operation in connection with this

broadcast, and to this excellent audience for their excellent questions.

Speaking of stations, out of the blue today via Western Union came an inspiring message from one of the 260 A. B. C. stations carrying this program. Mr. John Dixon, of Station WROK of Rockford, Illinois, wired that his station had heard about our plans to take Town Meeting around the world this summer, and our invitation to our listeners to support this plan with dollars. He advises me that every member of the staff of Station WROK has contributed their dollars and the check is on its way. Thank you, Mr. Dixon, and Station WROK.

So, my friends, let me remind you that we want every American city represented on the scrolls we present to the mayors of the fourteen world capitals we visit to originate your Town Meeting this summer. If you haven't sent your contribution, won't you take time to send it in tonight?

This is the first time in fourteen years that we've ever asked you for money. We haven't yet completed our budget, but it's going to take a great deal more than we have available, so we hope you will send in your contribution tonight and remind your friends to do the same.

Now next week, from Rochester, Minnesota, where we'll be the guests of Station KLER, we bring you a discussion of a very personal topic—"How Can We

Find Personal Peace and Security in Today's World?"—with these distinguished speakers: Dr. Karl A. Menninger, psychiatrist of Topeka, Kansas; Dr. Clyde Kluckhohn, professor of anthropology at Harvard University; Dr. S. Spafford

Ackerly, professor of psychiatry of the University of Louisville; and Dr. Roy Burkhardt, pastor from Columbus, Ohio; so plan to be with us next Tuesday and every Tuesday at the sound of the crier's bell. (*Applause.*)



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